2: Damm et al. --79 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 643, 651 Ifaluk

The chiefs have certain specific excises. The head chief can claim a part of the yield of the fields and fruit trees for himself. He receives 1/5 of the catch of every fishing expedition, that one of his subordinates has undertaken, while the under chief gets 1/2 to 3/4 of what is handed over to the head chief. If the fisherman has not taken very much, the minor chiefs have much less, or nothing at all. In this case, the fisherman just gives a share to the tamól igidigit, whom he meets in the men's house immediately upon his return. The chief divides the booty from the common fishing expeditions among all the houses of the atoll (and not among the men); he and the other chiefs renounce their claims all together, or they may take one fish from the ones that are due to a house. If the catch is small, he takes a half, or even less of what a house is supposed to give him.

4: Krämer--82 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 484, 651 Lamotrek

Hambruch learned the following on Elato: Yongelăp (the oldest and highest god) stays on Yap, and tribute payments must be sent to him there. The Lamotrek islanders and natives of Sëtowal do not take their goods directly to Yap but only as far as Oleai; from the latter island they are taken west and are landed in Gatspar. Natives of Ifaluk, Fáraulip and Aurepik undertake this voyage and everybody meets on Oleai. The voyage is by way of Sorol, Uĕjü and Mogemog.

4: Krämer--250 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 439, 651 Woleai

No tribute was taken to Yap [VMM: by the people from Woleai]. The intermediaries can keep the goods for themselves and pay with their possessions. There is no compulsion. If Oleai sells land, it may give as much as it likes to Inefel. In the past it was said that Oleai belonged to him.

6: Senfft--56
116, 643, 651

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

In the Oleai atoll, each island has its own chieftain. The head chief of Lamutrik also has jurisdiction over the two neighboring atolls, Elato and Lamrior, and claims possession of the uninhabited islands of Olimarau, Pikela, Pikelot, Toas, and West Faju. The office of the chieftain is passed on, not to the chieftain's son, but to the oldest son of the brother nearest the chieftain in age, or, if there is no brother, to the oldest son of the sister. It is said that the chieftains formerly exercised great authority; today their power is rapidly disappearing. They are nothing more than village mayors and have no means of enforcing their authority other than that of tying the accused to a tree for a short time or of destroying his house or his canoe. A native of Yap is the head chief and has the supreme authority; this is always the man who is the head chief of the district of Gatschbar. He, too, has no actual means of enforcing his authority; but the natives believe that all who do not obey his orders must die. On what basis this power rests is not clear; neither the present head chief nor his aged father were able to give me any information about it. Their authority extends even further than this atoll and includes those Carolinians who live in the Marianas.

The only outer symbol of this dependence is that the subjects of this head chief come to Yap at least once every two years to give proof of their devotion. They bring tributary payments which consist of mats, Chama shells, or necklaces made of these shells. They remain on the island for several months and are received hospitably. When they depart they are given the valuable pulverized curcuma (reng).

11: Born--176
116, 437, 651

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

In former times the people of Oleaï went on frequent expeditions to Gatschbar to make their tributary payments, consisting of woven mats, Gau, the gold of Jap, and ornaments, as the people of Ululssi still do today. In our time, however, world trade has modernized communication among the Micronesians. A few months ago, the head chief, Follebu, went to Oleaï on a trade schooner to survey his territory. He also levied a tax of 17,000 coconuts on his subjects; this tax is collected by an American company which gives the chieftain its equivalent in European articles of trade, which are worth about 150 Mark.

28: Spiro--9-10 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 631, 651, 177 Ifalik

"This recognition of the superiority of Gagil is more than a conceptual scheme; it entails material obligations on the part of the subservient islands. At periodical intervals the various islands bring a tribute to Gagil, called Autinzauwei or autineiwun, though the intervals are not fixed because of the native lack of conceptual temporal categories. Nevertheless, it is probably not too far from wrong to state that at three to four year intervals, Ifaluk pays a sizeable tribute to Gigil. The five chiefs select one of their members to deliver the tribute, and accompanied by an entourage, he makes the trip to Yap, about 400 miles away. The tribute is not fixed, but usually consists of women's skirts [10] (lavalavas), rope, and canoes, which the chiefs levy from the people. In terms of the native economy this tribute is of no negligible value, for, as we shall see, canoes, skirts, and rope, are the only articles the people manufacture, and the time consumed in their manufacture elevates them to objects of real value, of great wealth. A tribute

of a few small canoes, and one ocean-going canoe constitutes a real drain on the island's capital. Nevertheless, this tribute is offered voluntarily, without coersion, or military pressure on the part of the Gagil chiefs. (11)"

"11. It is of interest to the student of acculturation that the Yap chiefs accompany the navy station ship on its periodical tours of the islands, and collect their tribute during these trips, transporting them on the navy ships. Nonetheless, the local chiefs continue to travel to Yap, since the trip is a kind of pilgrimage in a quasi-religious sense, and is an occasion for social intercourse, as well."

28: Spiro--10 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 651, 631, 386, 793 Ifalik

"This tribute [WPM: see pp. 9-10] is not entirely unreciprocal, however. Yap supplies Ifaluk with gifts, both of a material and a non-material nature. The material goods consist of turmeric, the native paint, which is highly valued on Ifaluk for both bodily decorations and for painting canoes. They also supply them with bamboo poles for construction purposes, for though bamboo grows on Ifaluk it is not too plentiful, nor is it as good in quality as the Yap bamboo. Finally flint stones are brought from Yap to be used to make fire.

Furthermore, Yap makes a non-material, or spiritual, contribution to Ifaluk. The Gagil priest accompanies his chief, and performs a religious ceremony, whose nature unfortunately, I did not manage to get any information on."

"The material benefits accruing to the chiefs are minimal. There are informal benefits, of course. After a fishing haul, the chiefs will usually receive the largest fish, though even this is not an invariable proceedure. Of course, visiting travelers often bring gifts for the chiefs, and under both American and Japanese rule the chiefs receive special gifts of cigarettes or paint.

But as far as I could ascertain there are only two institutionalized material rewards. (17)

The first of these benefits is the peremptory right to all turtles. When a person catches a turtle, it is brought to the Fanewang, the canoe-house belonging to the Uelepi lineage, from which stems the first-ranking chiefs, and there it is butchered by the chief, and becomes the sole possession of Uelepi. He distributes some amongst the other chiefs, and to other commoners if he desires.

"17. This, despite the fact that theoretically, as we shall see later, all property is owned by the chiefs, and as such, they could levy any duty or tribute they desired."

The only tribute, or taxes, they receive, is the annual gift of breadfruit and toddy that is presented to the second-ranking chief, of the Somat lineage. He is the chief of the district of Felarik, and twice a year, in the rainy and dry seasons respectively, the men of Felarik bring him en masse bottles of toddy. However this is really a symbolic recognition of his authority, rather than a payment or a levy, because after receiving the toddy, he then redistributes it among the men, retaining very little for himself. I did not witness the offering of breadfruit since it did not occur during our stay, and I omitted to inquire whether it, too, is redistributed, but my guess would be that it is. Thus, even this formal, institutionalized, tribute does not remain in the chief's treasury, but reverts to the people. This redistribution, should be kept in mind for our later discussions, because this role of the chiefs as the givers or redistributors of food and tobacco plays a significant role in Ifaluk culture, having important psychological significance."